

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, Editor.

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THE BUGLE.

From the National Era.

SPEECH

OR

HON. CHAS. SUMNER, OF MASSACHUSETTS,
ON HIS MOTION

TO REPEAL THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following is the conclusion of Mr. Sumner's speech on the Fugitive law.

So I might here stop. It is enough in this place and on this occasion to show the unconstitutionality of this enactment. Your duty commences at once. All legislation hostile to the fundamental law of the land should be repealed without delay. But the argument is not yet exhausted. Even if this Act could claim any validity or apology under the Constitution, which it cannot, it facts that essential support is the Public Conscience of the States, where it is to be enforced, which is the life of all law, and without which any law must be a dead letter.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Butler] was right, when, at the beginning of the session, he pointedly said that a law which could be enforced only by the bayonet was no law. Sir, it is idle to suppose that an act of Congress becomes effective, merely by compliance with the forms of legislation. Something more is necessary. The Act must be in harmony with the prevailing public sentiment of the community upon which it bears. Of course, I do not suggest that the cordial support of every man or of every small locality is necessary; but I do mean that the public feelings, the public convictions, the public conscience, must not be touched, wounded, lacerated, by every endeavor to enforce it. With all these, it must be so far in harmony, that, like other laws, by which property, liberty, and life, are guarded, it may be administered by the ordinary processes of the courts, without jeopardizing the public peace or shocking good men. If this be true as a general rule—if the public support and sympathy be essential to the life of all law, this is especially the case in an enactment which concerns the important and sensitive rights of Personal Liberty. In conformity with this principle the Legislature of Massachusetts, by formal resolution, in 1850, with singular unanimity, declared:

"We hold it to be the duty of Congress to pass such laws only in regard thereto as will be maintained by the sentiments of the Free States, where such laws are to be enforced."

The duty of consulting these sentiments was recognised by Washington. While President of the United States, at the close of his Administration, he sought to recover a slave, who had fled to New Hampshire. His autograph letter to Mr. Whipple, the Collector at Portsmouth, dated at Philadelphia, 28th November, 1793, which I now hold in my hand, and which has never before seen the light, after describing the fugitive, and particularly expressing the desire of "her mistress" Mrs. Washington, for her return, employs the following decisive language:

"I do not mean, however, by this request, that such violent measures should be used as would excite a mob or riot, which might be the case if she has adherents, or even uneasy sensations in the minds of well-disposed citizens. Rather than either of these should happen, I would forgive her services altogether; and the example, which is of infinite more importance,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Mr. Whipple, in his reply, dated at Portsmouth, December 22, 1793, an autograph of which I have, recognises the rule of Washington:

"I will now, sir, agreeably to your desire, send her to Alexandria, if it be practicable without the consequences which you expect—that of exciting a riot or mob, or creating uneasy sensations in the minds of well-disposed persons. The first cannot be calculated beforehand; but it will be governed by the popular opinion of the moment, or the circumstances that may arise in the transaction. The latter may be sought into and judged of by conversing with such persons without discovering the occasion. So far as I have had opportunity, I perceive that different sentiments are entertained on this subject."

The fugitive never was returned; but lived in freedom to a good old age, down to a very recent period, a monument of the just forbearance of him whom we aptly call the Father of his Country. It is true that he sought her return. This we must regret, and find its apology. He was at the time a slaveholder. Though often with various degrees of force expressing himself against slavery, and pronouncing his suffrage for its abolition, he did not see this wrong as he saw it at the close of life, in the illumination of another sphere. From this act of Washington, still swayed by the policy of the world, I appeal to Washington writing his will. From Washington on earth I appeal to Washington in Heaven. Seek not by his name to

justify any such effort. His death is above his life. His last testament cancels his authority as a slaveholder. However he may have appeared before man, he came into the presence of God only as the liberator of his slaves. Grateful for this example, I am grateful also, that while a slaveholder and seeking the return of a fugitive, he has left in permanent record a rule of conduct which, if adopted by his country, will make Slave-Hunting impossible. The chances of a riot or mob, or "even uneasy sensations among well-disposed persons," are to prevent any such pursuit.

Sir, the existing Slave Act cannot be enforced without violating the precept of Washington. Not merely "uneasy sensations of well-disposed persons," but rage, tumult, communion, mob, riot, violence, death, gush from its fatal overflowing fountains;

—*hoc fons derivata clades*

In patrum populunque fluxit.

Not a case occurs without endangering the public peace. Workmen are violently dragged from employments to which they are wedded by years of successful labor; husbands are ravished from their wives, and parents from children. Everywhere there is disturbance; at Detroit, Buffalo, Harrisburgh, Syracuse, Philadelphia, New York, Boston. At Buffalo the fugitive was cruelly knocked by a log of wood against a red-hot stove, and his mock trial commenced while the blood still oozed from his wounded head. At Syracuse he was rescued by a sudden mob; so also at Boston. At Harrisburgh the fugitive was shot; at Christy's the Slave-Hunter was shot; at Albany the Slave-Hunter was shot; at New York unprecedented excitement, always with uncertain consequences, has attended every case. Again at Boston a fugitive, according to the received report, was first basely seized under pretext that he was a criminal; arrested only after a deadly struggle; guarded by officers who acted in violation of the laws of the State; tried in a Court house surrounded by chains; in the session of the court he was condemned to death; and then, in the execution of sentence, he was hanged by a noose.

Less by genius or eminent services, than by their sufferings, do the fugitive slaves of our country now command themselves. For them every sentiment of humanity is aroused;

—Who could refrain
That had a heart to love, and in that heart
Courage to make his love known?"

Rude and ignorant they may be; but in their every efforts for Freedom, they claim kindred with all that is noble in the Past. They are among the heroes in our age. Romance has no stories of more thrilling interest than theirs. Classical antiquity has preserved no example of adventurous trial more worthy of renown. Among them are men whose names will be treasured in the annals of their race. By the eloquent voice they have already done much to make their wrongs known, and to secure the respect of the world. History will soon lend them her avenging pen. Proscribed by you during life, they will proscriber you through all time. Sir, already judgment is beginning. A righteous public sentiment palsies your enactment.

And now, sir, let us review the field over which we have passed. We have seen that any compromise, finally closing the discussion of Slavery under the Constitution, is tyrannical, absurd, and impotent; that as Slavery can exist only by virtue of positive law, and as it has no such positive support in the Constitution it cannot exist within the National jurisdiction; that the Constitution nowhere recognises property in man, and that according to its true interpretation, Freedom and not Slavery is sectional; that, in this spirit, the National Government was first organized under Washington, himself an Abolitionist, surrounded by Abolitionists, while the whole country, by its Clergy, its Colleges, its Literature, and all its best voices, was united against Slavery, and the national flag at that time nowhere within the National Territory covered a single slave; still further that the National Government is a Government of delegated powers, and as among these there is no power to support Slavery, this institution cannot be national, nor can Congress in any way legislate in its behalf; and, finally that the establishment of this principle is the true way of peace and safety for the Republic. Considering next the provision for the surrender of fugitives from labor, we have seen that it was not one of the original compromises of the Constitution; that it was introduced and with hesitation, and adopted with little discussion, and then and for a long period after was regarded with comparative indifference; that the recent Slave Act though many times unconstitutional, is especially so on two grounds—first, as a usurpation by Congress of powers not granted by the Constitution, and an infraction of rights secured to the States; and secondly, as a denial of Trial by Jury, in a question of Personal Liberty and a suit at common law; that its glaring unconstitutionality finds a prototype in the British Stamp Act, which our fathers refused to obey as unconstitutional on two parallel grounds—first, because it was a usurpation by Parliament of powers not belonging to it under the British Constitution, and an infraction of rights belonging to the Colonies; and secondly, because it was a denial of Trial by Jury in certain cases of property; that as liberty is far above property, so is the outrage perpetrated by the American Congress far above that perpetrated by the British Parliament; and, finally, that the Slave Act has not that support in the public sentiment of the States where it is to be executed, which is the life of all law, and which prudence and the precept of Washington require.

Sir, thus far I have arrayed the objections to this Act, and the false interpretations of which renders this Act practically inoperative, except as a tremendous engine of terror. Sir, the sentiment is just. Even in the lands of slavery, the slave-trader is loathed as an ignoble character, from whom the countenance is turned away; and can the Slave-Hunter be more regarded, while pursuing his prey in a land of freedom?—In early Europe, in barbarous days, while Slavery prevailed, a Hunting Master, such as *Jugend Herr*, as the Germans called him, was held in aversion. Nor was this all. The fugitive was welcomed in the cities, and pursued against the pursuit. Sometimes he was received with various degrees of force expressing himself against slavery, and pronouncing his suffrage for its abolition, he did not see this wrong as he saw it at the close of life, in the illumination of another sphere. From this act of Washington, still swayed by the policy of the world, I appeal to Washington writing his will. From Washington on earth I appeal to Washington in Heaven. Seek not by his name to

sachussets have been violated in the seizure of a fugitive slave; but no sword like that of Revel, now hangs at Boston.

I have said, sir, that this sentiment is just. And is it not? Every escape from Slavery necessarily and instinctively awakens the regard of all who love Freedom. The endeavor, though unsuccessful, reveals courage, manhood, character. No story is read with more interest than that of our own Lafayette, when, aided by a gallant South Carolinian, in defiance of the despotic ordinances of Austria, kindred to our Slave Act he strove to escape from the bondage of Olmütz.—Literature pauses with exultation over the struggles of Cervantes, the great Spanish, while a slave in Algiers, to regain the liberty for which he says, in his immortal work, "we ought to risk life itself, Slavery being the greatest evil that can fall to the lot of man." Science, in all her manifold triumphs, throbs with delight and pride, that Arago, the astronomer and philosopher—devoted republican also—was redeemed from barbarous Slavery to become one of her greatest sons. Religion rejoices serenely, with joy unspeakable, in the final escape of Vincent de Paul. Exposed in the public square of Tunis to the inspection of the traffickers in human flesh, this illustrious Frenchman, was subjected to every violence of treatment, like a horse, compelled to open his mouth, to show his teeth, to trot, to run, to exhibit his strength in lifting burdens, and then, like a horse, legally sold in market overt. Passing from master to master, after a protracted servitude, he achieved his freedom, and regaining France, commenced that resplendent career of charity by which he is placed among the great names of Christendom.—Princes and orators have lavished panegyries upon this fugitive slave; and the Catholic Church in homage to his extraordinary virtues, has introduced him into the company of saints.

As a compact its execution depends solely upon the States, without any intervention of the Nation. Each State, in the exercise of its own judgement, will determine for itself the precise extent of the obligations assumed. As a compact in derogation of Freedom, and shunning any meaning, not clearly obvious, which takes away important personal rights, mindful that the parties to whom it is applicable are regarded as "persons," of course with all the rights of "persons" under the Constitution; and especially mindful of the vigorous maxims of the common law, that he is cruel and impious who does not always favor Freedom. With this key the true interpretation is easy.

Briefly, the States are prohibited from any "law or regulation" by which the fugitive may be discharged, and on the establishment of this claim to his service, he is to be delivered up. But the mode by which the claim is to be tried and determined is not specified. All this is obviously within the control of each State. It may be done by virtue of express legislation, which event any legislature, justly careful of personal liberty, would surround the fugitive with every shield of the law and Constitution. But such legislation may not be necessary. The whole proceeding may be done by virtue of the common law, and the law of the State. It may be done by virtue of express legislation, which event any legislature, justly careful of personal liberty, would surround the fugitive with every shield of the law and Constitution. But such legislation may not be necessary. The whole proceeding may be done by virtue of the common law, and the law of the State. 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Liberty Party Convention.

That part of this Convention which agreed to unite with the Free Democracy, appointed a committee to confer with Messrs. Hale and Julian, as to their views concerning the legality of Slavery. Adjourned to meet again October 1st, to celebrate the anniversary of Jerry's rescue.

The following are the reports, majority and minority, of the two committees.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention again assembled at the Dutch Reformed Church.

WILLIAM GOODELL, from the business Committee now submitted the following:

MAJORITY REPORT.

The Liberty Party of the United States, assembled in Convention at Canastota, N. Y., Sept. 1st, 1852, in view of the recent proceedings of the Convention of the Free Democracy at Pittsburgh, think it proper to define their position anew; that it may be distinctly understood by the friends of universal freedom.

While we heartily rejoice in the fact that so large and important a body of men as the Free Democracy, had so distinctly arrayed themselves against the usurpations of the slave power; while we cheerfully accord to them the credit of an honest and earnest devotion to the cause of emancipation and human freedom; and while we cherish the hope that they will be led by their future experience to occupy such a position, that we may find it consistent and proper to disband the Liberty party and co-operate with them; yet, on a careful examination of their platform, as adopted at Pittsburgh, we are compelled to conclude that the time has not yet arrived in which so desirable consummation can be realized.

Believing, as we do, that there is no more legitimacy in slaveholding than there is any other form of theft and robbery, we conceive that the distinct enunciation of that great truth by the friends of liberty in this country at the present crisis, is as essential, to their success as it was to the success of Granville Sharp and his associates, in procuring the judicial abolition of slavery in England, and to Wm. Pitt and others in procuring the act of Parliament prohibiting the African Slave trade, and as it was to Thomas Clarkson and others, in procuring the abolition of Slavery in the British West Indies.

Believing that slavery is not only illegal but unconstitutional, and that the U. States are constitutionally bound to guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, (such a republican government as in the language of Jefferson, shall secure to every citizen^{his} original rights in his person and his property, and in their management) we cannot consent to co-operate with the Free Democracy, while they continue to "leave to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of Fugitive Slaves."

Believing that it is impossible for the Federal Government to "relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of Slavery," while it continues to act as a National Government, but neglects to discharge its constitutional obligation to "secure the blessings of liberty" to "the people of the U. States," we cannot consent, by a co-operation with the Free Democracy to concede by implication the contrary assumption.

We hope also to see the Free Democracy define its position more definitely on some other subjects of legislation, in which the rights and interests of humanity are virtually concerned. We hold it the duty of civil government to seek the administration of equal justice to all, and the enjoyment of the equal rights of all; to protect all persons irrespective of sex or color in the enjoyment of their political rights—in the consequent abolition of all monopolies and class legislation. We therefore feel impelled to make a distinct Presidential nomination of our own, without the slightest disrespect to the distinguished gentlemen recently nominated at Pittsburgh.

GERRIT SMITH then submitted the following Minority Report:

1st. Resolved, That we rejoice in the hope, that the principles of the Free Democracy are substantially the principles of the Liberty Party.

2d. Resolved, That, notwithstanding there is much more truth than untruth—much more to welcome and praise, than to regret and condemn in the Pittsburgh Platform, we, nevertheless, regard it as representing not the masses of the Free Democracy, but the cautious and conservative handful, who fear that damage may come from the unrestrained utterance and bold measures of the generous, uncalculating and radical masses.

3d. Resolved, That the Free Democracy should lose no time to purge its platform, (which indeed is not its platform) of all concessions of slavery.

4th. Resolved, That with our faith in the Free Democracy and with our pleasure in the advances, which the Pittsburg Platform makes towards the true platform, it would be ungenerous and unwise for the Liberty Party to array itself against the Free Democracy.

5th. Resolved, That no man interested in the principles and imbued with the spirit of the Liberty Party can consent to vote for a candidate, who either admits of the possibility of legalizing or who does not acknowledge the obligation of maintaining all the political rights of all persons black or white, male or female.

6th. Resolved, That we do not disband the Liberty Party but simply suspend its action—and that we suspend it with the purpose of speedily renewing it, provided that the Free Democracy shall fail to make its platform declare distinctly and fully as does the platform of the Liberty Party, that neither slavery nor any other form of piracy, can be legalized, and that the duty of every political party is to maintain all the political rights of all persons and to be as comprehensive in its object as righteous civil government.

8th. Whereas the very large anti-slavery meeting held one week ago in this county of Madison, and State of New York, determined to interpret the Pittsburg platform in the

*Mr. Jefferson repeatedly denominated the slaves citizens.

light of its general principles and declarations and not in the light of its specifications which contradict those principles and declarations, and whereas we approve of that determination,

Resolved therefore, That we recommend to all the friends of freedom and of just civil government the three following Resolutions which were passed by said anti-slavery meeting, viz:

1st. Resolved, That the Free Democracy in declaring that government is to secure to all the rights of all—acknowledges not only that government is instituted for the purpose of maintaining all the political rights of all its subjects male or female, black or white, but that the Free Democracy is organized for the purpose of obtaining this equal justice, at the hand of government.

2d. Resolved, That the Free Democracy in denying that there can be valid legislation for slavery means that slavery is a naked piracy, around which there can be no possible legal covering—a hideous monster to which not the Constitution, nor the Legislature, nor the Judiciary can afford the least possible shelter.

3d. Resolved, That the Free Democracy in denying that there can be valid legislation for slavery, justifies the rescue of Jerry at Syracuse, and honors the thousands who on that occasion held that slave laws are sham laws and no laws.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

WHEN GOD COMMANDS TO TAKE THE TRUMPET AND BLOW A DOLOROUS OR A JARRING BLAST, IT LIES NOT IN MAN'S WILL WHAT HE SHALL SAY OR WHAT HE SHALL CONCEAL.—Milton.

SALEM, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 18, 1852.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets October 3d.

OMISSIONS.—In publishing the receipts of the anniversary meeting, Credit should have been given to Messrs. Brooke and Vickers—for \$1.00 the result of sales during the days of the meeting—also to Benjamin Brown for \$10.00—and to Elizabeth Vickers for \$5.00. The errors occurred in transcribing for publication.

THE NATIONAL ERA, numbers 20,000 subscribers. Its friends take an active personal interest in its circulation. Individuals canvass whole townships—procuring names and advance payment. One of these says, "I send you \$27, and 46 names for the Era."—Another: "I enclose \$18 for 26 New Subscribers." Another: "After a little exertion I have succeeded in getting thirty new subscribers to the Era." Another sends \$5,—another \$3 and thus within a few weeks have three thousand new subscribers been added to the list.

This is the way to do it. Let the friends of the Standard—the Liberator—the Freeman—and the Bugle, imitate this example, and they may all be placed beyond embarrassment and made remunerative to the associations which now in part carry them as dead weights. The Bugle at its present very low cost of publication, ought to be a source of revenue to the Western Anti-Slavery Society. And such it might be made if its friends would but follow the example of the voluntary canvassers of the Era. It should thus raise a fund for the support of lecturers, and the circulation of Anti-Slavery Tracts. Wont our friends think of the suggestion, and act upon it. There are a few places where we have friends who have done this. Our list of subscribers, and our squared up accounts show the fruit.

The present is just the time to make the effort. The next No. commences a new volume, and the newly revised postage law, has reduced the tax on that, score to a mere pittance. It is free of postage to all within the county. Paid in advance it will be 3 cents per quarter or 13 cents per annum to all others within the state—and only double that to all out of it.

We appeal to those friendly to the principles our paper advocates—who will aid in extending our circulation?

Meeting at Deerfield.

On Sunday last we attended the meeting at Deerfield, in company with Mr. Walker. There was present a good audience for numbers, and one exceedingly interested and attentive. Mr. Walker spoke admirably, as did also Wm. Swaney, from Michigan. The great Teacher of Christianity made his advent in a stable. And now after eighteen centuries and a half—those who make application of his principles to the current affairs of life, still often find the stable, their most comely and comfortable temple. But pleasant and comfortable it was on this occasion as was possible to make it, by the attention and skill of those true abolitionists, Charles O. Betts, and his wife. Their hospitality too, was only limited by the persons present to partake of it. Some five or six dollars were contributed to the Anti-Slavery Society.

VICE PRESIDENTS.—Do our Northern Whigs and Democrats intend to violate the constitution and dissolve the Union by not electing a vice president? We take it they do, as they say nothing about it. We can account for it on the part of the Whigs. They have been so unfortunate in their presidential "accidents," Tyler and Fillmore, that we don't wonder they are a little shy.

But the Democrats, what can be the matter there. Is it that they have become such rabid abolitionists that they won't vote for a slaveholder?

Notices of Publications.

The indefatigable Adison of Cleveland is weekly casting his Harpoon among the grot sellers and slaveholders. It is an instrument with some point and well aimed.

The Ohio School Journal is as good as usual. The friends of Education should circulate it.

GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE, for September is up to its mark, who could say anything more for it. SARTAIN's has not been received.

THE SCHOOL MATE for August has some excellent reading for our young friends. Published by George Savage, New York.

SCIENCE OF SOCIETY OR TRUE SOCIALISM, by William Hick, Cleveland. This is a pamphlet of 150 pages, devoted as we judge by the title and page of table of contents to the question of social reform. We have found no time to read it.

BUCHANAN'S JOURNAL OF MAN.—We learn from the last No. is to be enlarged and the price raised to \$2.00. The editor finds his present limits quite too narrow for the discussion of his subject.

THE WHITE SLAVE, OR MEMOIRS OF A FUGITIVE, Boston, Tappan and Whittemore—Milwaukee, Wis., Rovel and Whittemore.

Our thanks are due to the Boston Publishers for a copy of this well written and thrilling narrative. The literature of the world has always been against slavery, and the successful literature of this country is fast becoming so. The author of the white slave is one who has already a well merited reputation for letters. To that reputation this work does no discredit.

Its style is chaste and forcible. It abounds in natural but thrilling incident, and will touch the hearts of many, where previous efforts have failed to move with a proper abhorrence of American Slavery. It is in fact a history of some of the secrets of that institution, embodied in the biography of one of its victims. Some of its readers will recognise in him an old acquaintance—Archy Moore. To Archy's history as originally published, the author has added a continuation which he says was originally intended. It is a book that will be read—more, it will bear re-reading. It and Uncle Tom's Cabin are worthy companions. And we are glad at this time to see it retouched, enlarged and improved, and thrown before the world. It will materially tend to swell the growing tide of indignation and abhorrence against slavery. We hope our Western Booksellers will bring it within the reach of our community. They will thus we are sure serve their own interest as well as the cause of freedom and humanity.

Yours for truth and fair play,

Mr. Pillsbury at Columbian.

COLUMBIANA, Sept. 4, 1852.

Friend Editor:—Mr. Pillsbury, in speaking of his meeting in Columbian, in apology for his scurrilous resolutions and remarks against the Free Soil Party, says, "I was induced to offer those resolutions particularly on account of the bigotry of some Free Soil men who used their influence to keep us out of the House and also to keep people from our meetings."

If there was a single Free Soiler, known as such who had used such influence; I am unacquainted with the fact, and have not conversed with one who was not astonished at the remark; as there were undoubtedly two free soilers to one of his own class, who were in favor of going into the church. This was very ungenerous. It was a "Free Soiler" who applied for the keys to open it, and it was a Free Soiler who wrote and put up a major portion of the notices of the meeting. As to his remarks above referred to, they were as he says, received kindly, and quietly, though as evidently evidenced by the "silent" expression of all deep sympathy was felt for the Speaker. In this part of his subject he did not pretend to reason his ease, but simply to pour out upon us a masterly array of groundless assertions and anathemas. Whether any one would have replied or not, there is little doubt of that, if opportunity had offered of a more enticing character, but the Speaker took good care not to set down, or cease talking, till he had dismissed the meeting and ready to retire at a late hour. I hope you will do the justice to give this room in your paper next week.

Yours for truth and fair play,
JOHN D. COPELAND.

Either J. D. Copeland is mistaken, or Mr. Pillsbury made some new developments of character at Columbian. That he is unmistakeable in his plausibility of speech, we know—that in the estimation of the subjects of his denunciation, he should be thought unreasonably severe, we could well imagine, did they leave it to our imagination to decide. But that he descended to the use of the "scurrilous," we must be permitted to doubt, as we think will most others, who have ever had the pleasure of listening to his chaste language, to his impressive thoughts, and to his dignified manner.

The idea that Mr. Pillsbury should attempt to dodge discussion with our Columbian Free Soilers, strikes us rather ludicrously.—We think it must have been the first time he has played the coward of late. If he has done injustice to "some" of them no one will be more ready to have justice done than himself. Our correspondent has failed to show that he had not "some" occasion for his opinion—whether it was right or wrong. We certainly hope he was mistaken.

CUBA.—There is no little disquiet in the Island of Cuba. The government is alarmed and is seizing and punishing the disaffected. It has also notified this government through the Spanish Minister that the revolutionists have a certain understanding with associations in this country, from whom they expect aid. Cuba is doubtless destined to annexation. As a preparation for filibustering, the New Orleans extensionists celebrated with due pomp the anniversary of the death of Lopez.

THE TABLE under the waving branches of the pine, was charmingly furnished, with a large variety of fancy and useful articles. At the back of which hung the most beautiful quilt I ever saw, which by the way with thanks to the donors was purchased and presented to myself.—Every one of these was a lecture of itself.

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THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

Slave Representation.

The three-fifth slave representation, is a thing well enough in the eyes of the chivalrous masters, in the general government, as it enables them to control it at the expense of the South. But it fails to be equally acceptable to those in their state governments. Its influence is to throw the whole government of the state into the hands of a few slaveholders. Virginia is in a desperate struggle on the question last year. Even South Carolina is restless under aristocratic rule, and the more moderate states, have utterly repudiated it.

Louisiana is just now agitating the question of nullification. A convention for the revision of their constitution, has just closed session. In discussing the merits of its language, the following article contained in the new constitution receives severe condemnation.

Art. 8. Representation in the House of Representatives shall be equal and uniform, and be regulated and ascertained by the total number of each of the several parishes or states."

The regular feature of republicanism, against which a few of the most fanatical abolitionists object, which even the Pittsburgh platform does not see fit to propose to change, has been acquiesced in by all our states, north and south, which it is high treason to condemn even in this latitude, is receiving terrible thrusts in Louisiana. The press is not at all reconciled to the fact that the man with his five hundred or a thousand slaves, shall have the same political power, as a hundred or a thousand non-slaveholding men, including their merchant princes, bankers, &c. They declare that it is "anti-slavery," "invidious," "impolitic," and "unjust." They ask with some emphasis, why the ox and the ass are not also included in constitutional basis, as well as the slave.—Necessity for the existence of this "anti-slavery, invidious and unjust" arrangement the federal government is very frankly set forth as follows, by the New Orleans True

Intelligent men well know that the federal laws adopted to strengthen the slave states at the possible encroachments of the free, and secession, it was justly feared, freedom from Europe would give the lat-

ter was in point of fact, a precautionary taken as against, not probable, but possible, slavery."

Against the adoption of the measure in its state, however, it remonstrates as follows:

"Did we ever hear of such a garrison demanded by a slave state against its own population? when if this constitution be accepted by the people, will be the case? Now we do so much respect for the intelligence, boldness, and circumspection of the large states, to believe that they would contrive, by any act of theirs, an imputation dangerous, so unfounded, and so unjust, that in any parish in the state, wherein is the white population, any unkind feeling, or unfriendly or hostile feeling, exists between them; or that it would be possible, under any circumstances short of such constitutional provisions of this basis, which every one condemns, to array the people in opposition to the interest of their, in a world-wide sense, more fortunate fellow-citizens.—Equally ridiculous would it be to call upon the people to oppose and approve the constitution on party grounds, seeing that party did nothing whatever to do with the enactment of the clause containing the abominable provision which puts the intelligent, laborious and enterprising citizens on the same level as the slave. Men calling themselves democrats voted for the degrading nomination, and presses claiming to be democratic approve by their silence the inexplicably inflicted upon the people. If the delegates who voted for it, did so under the impression that the slaves of the state are more eligible as a representative than the ox or the ass, recommended in our Concordia contemporary, we really stand to see on principle, any more than can possibly find excuse or extenuation for the violation of everything like republican equality in what they have already done."

"We regard the question only in one light, and that is, its dangerous and most odious features. We do not regard it as a question affecting Pennsylvania any more than St. Landry, Jefferson than Jackson, Washington than Franklin parish. It denies Justice to the people; it introduces distinctions which for forty years have been unknown in the state; and distinctions which every one of its Southern states, which have of late years remodeled their organic law, have repudiated; and it is for these reasons we oppose it. We make no distinction between the white citizen and the black, in apportioning the representation—a constitution which places the government and safety of this city and this noble state in the hands of a fragment of the population, consisting but by a fraction the pauper number of eight thousand souls, a number less than one-tenth of the population of this city, exclusive of Lafayette, (the fourth District)."

"No man has yet appeared in print with authority enough to approve what this convention has done. Every one, on the contrary, who has spoken, condemns, as we do, the slave basis of representation. Can it be doubtful, then, whether the people will ratify or reject the constitution, when the stock-jobbers and speculator, who hope to become enriched by it, have nothing in its favor?"

"It is too late in the day to introduce either the slave or jackass qualification for the representative basis; and that the architects of the new constitution will, or we are much mistaken, discover before the 5th day of November next."

The New York Evening Post, commenting upon this, says:

"Now we would like to know what is to become of this government if such talk as this is to be allowed at the south. It is sufficiently frightful to hear such doctrines vented, as they occasionally have been, in such irreclaimable prints as the New York Evening Post, the National Era, and papers of that ilk, but to read in a southern paper that the slave basis of representation which was given to the people of the United States by the fathers of the republic; to

which we have often been told the Union owed its origin, and upon the continuance of which it depends for its existence from day to day; to read in a southern paper that this national bulwark "denies justice to the people;" that it "introduces distinctions which for forty years have been unknown in the states," and "which every one of its southern states have repudiated," is something for which we confess we were not prepared, while Mr. Fillmore was charged with the executive duty of punishing high treason, and General Scott retained his office as Commander-in-Chief of the American Army.

And, (we will add) while the New York Evening Post supports Franklin Pierce for the presidency.

Salem—A Panorama.

Our friend Pillsbury entertains the readers of the Anti-Slavery Standard, with the following description of town and country hereabouts. For the credit of our town, we are sorry to say that in this description we cannot enumerate as many "unwarrantable hyperboles" as we could desire. Under date of August 24th, speaking of Salem he says,

"Why the people of the place many of whom are wealthy, should consent to be huddled together, two or three thousand of them, in so much mud, filth, and rubbish of every kind, is most mysterious. Only one of the streets has anything which can be called a side-walk, without a most daring latitude in the use of language. And then they are clustered with almost every conceivable thing which should not be there. A Philadelphia friend remarked to me just now, as we were walking, that "it looked as though nothing was ever picked up." I told him a good many things had been thrown down, at any rate.

In some places, the flow of sundry sinks and kitchens of most equivocal houseware run directly into the main street. In these hot moondays, you will be greeted with all manners and "compounds of villainous smells" as you leap these unbridged estuaries, besides swarms of flies, fattened on the filth into truly aristocratic proportions, that with a fearful buzz, open to the right and left for your accommodation as you pass along; and then, too, a most lawless, independent herd of swine wander and bivouac, by day or night, as suits their inclination—Independent, however in little else, for most of them remain you far more of Pharaoh's seven years of famine than the seven of plenty.

It is rumoured that there are excellent gardens in the town, but the stables, styes, and other opaque bodies, almost wholly eclipse them from human gaze.

Except on the main street, what of sidewalks there are consist of planks stretched along lengthwise, frequently only one abreast (as an Irishman would say); and so the people are compelled to walk as is required of prisoners in the Penitentiaries, one after another; and these planks are, many of them, warped as badly as the principles of some political parties; and in many cases, indeed, like those principles, they have entirely disappeared. And it is, remarkable with what calm resignation the citizens bear their loss, and submit, year after year, to the bereavement.

And over all, the smoke of the bituminous coal, which is burned in large quantities, has thrown a pall of blackness, which puts the place in becoming mourning, and gives it a truly uninviting appearance, reminding one strongly of what an old resident told me, that every thing was so sooty, from the use of coal, that mothers had always to wash the faces of the children when they had been out, before each could tell her own. I think this is an unwarrantable hyperbole, and cannot endorse it.

In such a place, has the Anti-Slavery Bugle been located, and here has its editor come to reside, leaving as pretty and pleasant a little home, twenty miles off, as could be desired.

The region around Salem is fertile and beautiful; and many of the farms are most magnificent. Nature has done bountifully, and only asks a little wise and faithful culture, and this whole vicinity would become one of the gardens of the world.

We have just closed the tenth Anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. It was held in the Hicksite Meeting house, except on Sunday, when the multitude in attendance drove us to the grove. The Hicksite Quakers are extremely honourable and generous in granting us their house without any charge at all, except pay to the persons who are employed to wash it, after we have closed our exercises; and then the hospitality of the people is without bound. Fifty persons are often entertained bountifully, for the whole three days, in houses not as large as the ordinary farm-houses of New York and New England; and then the cheerful heartiness with which everything is done, is most honourable to human nature and a fatal denial to the whole doctrine of Total Depravity.

The official proceedings will tell you about the meeting. Joseph Butler, Oliver Johnson, Jane Elizabeth Jones, and Henry C. Wright took prominent part in the meetings. Frederick Douglass was also present, to represent and to advocate (though I think to little purpose enough) some kind of political Anti-Slavery. But whether he would have us embrace the theories of the old "Liberty Party" or the very widely different party, who has spoken, condemns, as we do, the slave basis of representation. Can it be doubtful, then, whether the people will ratify or reject the constitution, when the stock-jobbers and speculator, who hope to become enriched by it, have nothing in its favor?

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ever subjects are embraced in them. And you may be sure no organization better carries into life and practice its professions and declarations, towards Church or Government, than does the Western Anti-Slavery Society. Yours and your readers' PARKER PILLSBURY.

Frederick Douglass out for Hale and Julian.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS has unfurled the stars and stripes with the names of Hale and Julian inscribed thereon. He backs up this demonstration with three columns of reasons for so doing. The seventh plank in the Pittsburgh platform which some radical anti-slavery men, Gerrit Smith among them, have pronounced rotten, Mr. Douglass disposes of in manner quite original. Though we doubt whether the Pittsburgh delegates will deem it complimentary. He thrusts them upon the horns of a very ugly dilemma and compels them to be gored upon either one or the other. He says that resolution "holds its place" "purely by accident or oversight, not by design. Any other supposition would stamp the Pittsburgh convention, as *meanly paltering* in a double sense." In consideration of such a defence, we should not wonder if the Free Democrats should give Mr. Douglass the same advice which they administered to a new recruit they obtained in this region, viz: that "he had better go back from whence he came."—That from such friends they desired salvation more than from their enemies. For the benefit of all who may be influenced thereby, we give the whole of what Mr. Douglass has to say on this point. It is No. 10 of his reasons for voting for Hale and Julian.

10. It is objected to "the Free Democracy," that it does not deny the possibility of legalizing slavery; but is this so? We understand "the Free Democracy" to admit, what it would be folly to deny, that "property in man" can be asserted and maintained by force, under the forms of legislation. We suppose every one will admit this. We understand, at the same time, that "the Free Democracy" deny the validity of such legislation, as being destitute of any authority over the slave, or over the conscience of any class of men.—We believe that even Gerrit Smith regards the Free Democracy as going this length; but he objects, that in another part of the platform, there are admissions which militate against this doctrine; such, for instance, as his reasons for voting for Hale and Julian.

11. It is objected to "the Free Democracy,"

that it does not seem to be partial to Gen. Scott—We publish the following from General Pierce by which it will be seen that he still affirms that no word or act of his life has been at variance with the Baltimore Platform.

It is an extract from a letter to Mr. DeLeon, late Associate Editor of the Southern Press. Of course it was written for Southern consumption but it may not be unserviceable here. Mr. De Leon wrote to know whether the reports in circulation against his Southern character were true. The charge was that he had a Northern character. How he repels the charge, read and learn.

"My action and my language in New Hampshire, touching this matter, (slavery) have been at all times and under all circumstances in entire accordance with my action and language at Washington.

My votes in the Senate and House of Representatives were not repudiated in the Era for the first time. They have been again and again paraded to arouse the passions and prejudices of our people against me individually, and against the party with which it has been my pride and pleasure to act. THERE HAS BEEN NO ATTEMPT TO EVADE THE FORCE OF THE RECORD. IT HAS BEEN AT ALL TIMES FREELY ADMITTED, AND MY POSITION SUSTAINED UPON GROUNDS SATISFACTORY TO MY OWN MIND."

Scott Documents.

The Whigs in this region are holding up as stool pigeons all the recent free soilers they can find. Hoping thus to flutter up some little enthusiasm for Scott. They dont seem to us to make very much headway. The Free Soilers are inclined to think it in the near neighborhood of an insult, to be thus continually pried by traitors, as the only men who can hope to influence them. And to show their fidelity above the buying or coaxing point, they pity the traitors, and scorn their reasons for desertion. Below we give extracts from two important Whig electioneering documents. True they were not originally designed for this latitude, but on that account they tell the truth the less. We give General Scott the benefit of their publication.

The first is a letter from Mr. Upton of Louisiana to the New Orleans Bee. Mr. Upton was one of the Secretaries of the Baltimore Whig Convention, and of course must be regarded as authority.

But anxious to know Gen. Scott's real sentiments upon the Compromise, most particularly on the Fugitive Slave Law, I addressed to him a note upon the subject on the 7th of June last, and on the same day, at his own request, I had a personal interview with him.* THE INTERVIEW WAS A LONG ONE. GEN. SCOTT MOST UNRESERVEDLY GAVE TO ME HIS VIEWS UPON ALL THE LEADING TOPICS OF THE DAY, AND SAID HE HAD NOTHING TO CONCEAL—MOST PARTICULARLY UPON THE COMPROMISE ACTS, INCLUDING THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—

and his position was then, as now, a position that must be satisfactory to every southern man; speaking of the Fugitive Slave Law, Gen. Scott used this language:

"If I ever, as Gen. Scott, at the head of

the armies of the United States, as plain Mr.

President Scott, if it should please the people who hold back the people from proclaiming at once, No Union with Slaveholders.

There are some political Abolitionists here at the West, whose virtue is like that of the Roman Empress, "above suspicion." They stand by the Western Society in every trying emergency, and I trust, would, no matter what cost to politics or anything else—though as yet they cannot see the propriety and importance of refusing all governmental alliance with the slaveholders of the Southern States; indeed, I think it is only the leaders of any of the political parties in Ohio who hold back the people from proclaiming at once, No Union with Slaveholders.

The Western Society gives good account of herself this year, as you will see by the interesting Report of the Corresponding Secretary, and also by the proceedings of the Anniversary. You will find the Resolutions adopted are in no ambiguous terms, what-

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, OR HAVING A TENDENCY TOWARDS ITS REPEAL, THEN WRITE INFAMOUS BEFORE MY NAME, WRITE INFAMOUS AFTER MY NAME, AND KICK ME INTO THE GUTTER."

The language was so emphatic, so strong, and made such an impression on me, that I quote, I think, General Scott's own words.

I am, very truly yours,

R. A. UPTON.

LETTER FROM WM. A. GRAHAM.

The Webster Whigs of North Carolina recently held a meeting and presented as their nomination Webster for President and Graham for Vice President. Mr. Graham declines this association with Mr. Webster for the following reasons. We extract from his letter:

I understand that your objection to Gen. Scott consists mainly in an apprehension that he will not do justice to the South, by a full adherence to the compromise of 1850. On that point I have this statement to make: I arrived at Washington, upon the invitation of President Fillmore, to the navy department, on the last day of July, 1850. On that day the "Omnilias" bill, so called, reported by Mr. Clay, from the committee of thirteen, was rejected, and the whole subject of dispute was thrown open for agitation anew. I found Gen. Scott acting as Secretary of War, in which situation he continued for several weeks; and happening to take lodgings at the same hotel, I was in daily and intimate intercourse with him from that time until the consummation of the Compromise, by the passage of its various propositions, in separate bills. *No one, in my sphere of acquaintance, felt more deeply the importance of the crisis, none exhibited more zeal in behalf of these measures, by arguments and persuasion among his friends, and none rejoiced more heartily when it was supposed all danger was averted by their final passage, than did* Such was his conduct, while the contest raged and it was doubtful on which side victory would incline, in Congress, or in the country.

If others, who seeing the subject in a different light, at that time opposed this adjustment, or looked upon it with distaste or indifference, have since brought their minds to sanction or acquiesce in it, it is cause for congratulation; but history will not perform her office if she fails to enumerate General Scott among the firmest friends of this national pacification in its hour of trial. I, at least, cannot consent, by my silence, to seemingly approve the discrimination made by you to his prejudice, on a national question where he was equally zealous with myself, and more influential; and I know no safer criterion for the future observance of the compromise, than the decisive and manly part taken in its enactment.

General Pierce.

That we may not seem to be partial to Gen. Scott—we publish the following from General Pierce by which it will be seen that he still affirms that no word or act of his life has been at variance with the Baltimore Platform.

It is an extract from a letter to Mr. DeLeon, late Associate Editor of the Southern Press. Of course it was written for Southern consumption but it may not be unserviceable here. Mr. De Leon wrote to know whether the reports in circulation against his Southern character were true. The charge was that he had a Northern character. How he repels the charge, read and learn.

"My action and my language in New Hampshire, touching this matter, (slavery) have been at all times and under all circumstances in entire accordance with my action and language at Washington.

My votes in the Senate and House of Representatives were not repudiated in the Era for the first time. They have been again and again paraded to arouse the passions and prejudices of our people against me individually, and against the party with which it has been my pride and pleasure to act. THERE HAS BEEN NO ATTEMPT TO EVADE THE FORCE OF THE RECORD. IT HAS BEEN AT ALL TIMES FREELY ADMITTED, AND MY POSITION SUSTAINED UPON GROUNDS SATISFACTORY TO MY OWN MIND."

Scott Documents.

The Whigs in this region are holding up as stool pigeons all the recent free soilers they can find.

Hoping thus to flutter up some little enthusiasm for Scott. They don't seem to us to make very much headway. The Free Soilers are inclined to think it in the near neighborhood of an insult, to be thus continually pried by traitors, as the only men who can hope to influence them.

And to show their fidelity above the buying or coaxing point, they pity the traitors, and scorn their reasons for desertion.

Below we give extracts from two important Whig electioneering documents. True they were not originally designed for this latitude, but on that account they tell the truth the less. We give General Scott the benefit of their publication.

The Tribune says John P. Hale will spend four or five weeks in the West.

Where shall he go?—The old line Democrats of New York at their state convention, kicked John Van Buren out of doors.

Hon. Orrin Fowler, member of Congress from Massachusetts, died at Washington on the 3rd inst.

The New York Evening Post publishes Mr. Sumner's speech entire. It will afford some valuable reading for the Pierce men.

A planter at Amherst, Va., has left \$6,000 to settle his slaves in a new-slaveholding State.

It is said over £1,000,000 will be sent from this country to Ireland, by relatives to enable their families to emigrate to this country.

Timon says that when the men marry nowadays, they get more whalebone than man, and more coffee bags than "tin." About these days, Timon should avoid broomhandles.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS is crushed in Cuba, and remonstrance against time honored abuses is punished more cruelly than in Alabama or South Carolina—in proportion as the "garrote" is more severe than tar and feathers, riding on a rail, or other institutions preservative of the "peculiar institution."

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

THE BUGLE.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

Approved by the Ohio Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, held in Salem, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, by adjournments, from the 5th to the 7th of the Ninth month, inclusive, 1852.

/ Assembled in obedience to our convictions of duty, to take into serious consideration the moral, social and religious condition of the human family and the obligations resulting therefrom, and having felt it to be right to form an association for the purpose of promoting pure and undefiled religion throughout the world and aiding each other in the search for truth, we are constrained to lay before the public an exposition of our views in relation to some of the topics that have claimed our attention.

And, first of all, we desire to acknowledge our dependence upon the God who hath created us, and all men in his own image and likeness, who has endowed us with reason and conscience, who has allied us to himself through the sense of individual responsibility and the hopes of an immortal life, and who has written in the very elements of our being the laws upon obedience to which depends our present and future welfare. We rely upon his Spirit to guide, upon his arm to strengthen, and his infinite love to watch over us in every vissitude of life. We confess before the world the sacred obligation that rests upon us to love him with all our hearts, and to evince that love in works of charity and beneficence toward each other and all men, and especially toward the poor, the unfortunate and the oppressed of whatever caste or clime. We recognize in the precepts and examples of Jesus Christ, the highest and purest emanation of the Divinity that the world has ever seen, and we believe that nothing more is necessary to redeem mankind from error and sin and ensure their happiness, than that those precepts should be universally obeyed, and that example of purity, patience, long suffering, magnanimity and forgiveness of injuries universally followed.

We recognize as the most precious of all the gifts conferred upon us by our benevolent Father, the Religious Element which he has so deeply implanted in our nature, which awakens in us the desire for perfection and leads us to aspire after all that is noble, generous and good, and which, operating through our social nature, prompts us to assemble together, as we have opportunity, to edify one another in love, to labor for each other's purity and peace, and to combine our efforts for the promotion of practical Christianity and the realization of the Universal Brotherhood of the human race.—That this element of man's nature has often been and is still grossly perverted—that priesthood in all ages has enveloped it in clouds of superstition and obstructed its healthful manifestations by absurd and slavish customs, creeds and forms, is a fact too palpable to be denied. We could not shut our eyes to it if we would, and we would not if we could. But we derive comfort and encouragement from the belief that the errors of the past are being dissipated by the rays of truth, and that mankind are beginning to see the beauty and to feel the power of principles long buried under the rubbish of sectarianism and enshrouded in the thick darkness of a false theology. May the light which is thus beginning to dawn upon the pathway of humanity grow brighter and brighter unto the perfect day!

In forming a new Religious Association, we have felt an anxious solicitude to avoid the errors which have to a great extent proved fatal to the usefulness of similar organizations in times past, and often made them fearful engines of despotism and mischief. We have sought to lay its foundations in immutable truth, and to adapt it to the highest principles and wants of human nature. We have endeavored to make our platform as wide as humanity and broad as our social relations and our individual responsibilities. It has been the cherished purpose of our hearts, not to forge shackles for the human mind, nor to impose the slightest restraint upon men in their efforts to discover truth and dissipate error, but to aid in breaking every fetter of superstition, every yoke of bigotry and every chain of political and ecclesiastical domination. That our association, in its principles and structure, is free from error, is more than we dare even to hope. We set up no claim of infallibility.—We have simply followed the highest light vouchsafed to us at the present time, and we avow to the world our deliberate purpose, as individuals and as an association, to search for truth as a treasure more precious than rubies, to embrace it as fast as we can discover it, and to do all in our power to diffuse it among our fellow-men, regardless of opinions previously held and of prejudices previously entertained. If, in process of time, it shall appear that the terms of membership upon which we are now agreed, broad as they are, are yet too narrow to meet the wants of mankind; or, if it shall be found that they operate as a restriction upon human freedom and a hindrance to the progress of truth, it will be our duty to alter or abolish them. At present it seems clear to us that, in seeking the co-operation of all who look to God as a Universal Father and recognise the Brotherhood of the whole Human Family and the binding obligation of the Golden Rule, we have built a platform wide enough

to embrace every one who has at heart the interest and the happiness of his fellow-men.

As we do not mean to fetter ourselves with a creed or system of theology, so also is it not our intention to impose a yoke upon posterity. We aim to do our own work in our own day and generation, and to do it by such instrumentalities as seem to us adapted to the end we have in view, leaving those who shall come after us, and who we hope will be wiser and better than we are, to amend or discard our plans, as to them may seem good. Painful experience has taught us that the church organizations of our fathers, though framed, we doubt not, according to their best wisdom, are not suited to the wants of the present age; and as we do not admit that they had any right to prescribe terms and principles of association to bind our consciences or control our judgments, so do we disclaim any right or desire to bind the consciences or control the judgments of those to whom our work may be transmitted.—Truth and Right are immutable and unchangeable, for they are of God, but human organizations, however important or sacred may be their objects, must be changed, in conformity with the law of human progress, to suit the varying wants and circumstances of the race.

We are astonished at the tenacity with which so many among us cling to the creeds, the organizations and disciplines of the past, as if they were almost too sacred for examination, and as if to repudiate them were a sacrifice too appealing to be contemplated without a shudder. We would not recklessly destroy the work of the fathers, nor are we unmindful of the truth that our own freedom of thought and speech, and much of the light that illuminates our pathway is the fruit of their earnest toils and sacrifices for the promotion of truth and goodness. We gratefully acknowledge them as our helpers, but we cannot accept them as our masters; and we are persuaded that we shall best honor their memories, not by blindly following in their footsteps, but by 'minding the light' which God has kindled in our hearts no less than in theirs. The reverence due to truth cannot be bestowed upon any work of man without producing serious mischief. Church organizations are only a means, of which truth and righteousness are the end. Let not the greater be sacrificed to the less, the Divine be subordinated to the human.

The master error, as it seems to us, of nearly all the church organization of the past and present time is, that they have attempted to find a bond of union, not in the affinities of man's nature and the love enjoined by the gospel of Christ, but in uniformity of theological opinions. All history teaches us that such uniformity is impossible, and that the attempt to realize it is fatal to all spiritual life. The church which is united by this bond is only frozen together, and its elements must be dissolved by the rays of truth or broken in pieces by external force. If a tithe of the labor which has been expended in the vain and preposterous efforts to adjust human opinions to the arbitrary lines and grotesque angles of human creeds, had been devoted to works of practical goodness and the fulfilment of the law of charity, the world might ere this have been relieved of an incalculable amount of ignorance, wretchedness and sin. Christ has enjoined us to "seek first the kingdom of God and its righteousness," but the popular church requires us to "seek first" after *theology*. It presents its different habits, associations and experiences of different communities will require corresponding variations in the means to be used for securing the advantages of religious society. The arrangements suited to one place may not be adapted to the special wants of another. We do not regard it as consistent with the freedom and self-respect of those whose local proximity and spiritual affinity for each other impels them to organize for the purpose of maintaining religious meetings, to submit to be governed by a foreign body. The responsibility of regulating their assemblies should rest upon themselves, and they cannot safely transfer it to other shoulders.

We are constrained to advise the friends of Practical Christianity in every town and neighborhood, wherever practicable, to associate together in some form to aid each other in the search for truth, to cultivate and enlarge the social and religious elements of their nature, to strengthen and encourage each other in the performance of duty, and to exert a healthful and beneficent influence upon their neighbors. Regular meetings on the First day of the week, if rightly conducted, cannot fail to do great good. We do not claim any sanctity for the day, nor would we assert it to be the absolute duty of any individual to attend such a meeting. Let there be on this point, as on every other, the utmost freedom of opinion. We recommend such meetings, not as divinely prescribed institutions, but simply as means adapted to meet our social and religious wants. Especially would we advise those who may establish such meetings to guard against the danger of their becoming scenes of contention and pernicious controversy. Let them carefully avoid foolish and unlearned questions, and the mazes of speculative theology, which gender strife, and give their attention to the laws of God as written in man's nature, to the culture and exercise of charity toward each other and toward the race, and to the relief of the poor, the sick, the unfortunate and the oppressed. Let them seek, by all appropriate means, to apply the practical precepts of Christianity to the individual heart and conscience and to all human concerns and relations. Let them assail with the weapons of truth every institution and every system which tends to degrade, oppress and enslave humanity. Let them lift up a testimony against every form of iniquity and wrong, entering into no compromise with sin and no unholy alliance with oppressors. Let them make the poor and the afflicted of God's children feel that in them as individuals and as associations they have friends who will stand by them in every emergency and succor them under every trial. In these works of charity and mercy they will find a bond of union compared with all the creeds and ceremonial of the Pope.

The religion of Christ is not a system of fine-spun theological abstractions, but a religion of love. It presents us not doctrines to be believed, but duties to be done. It deals primarily with the heart rather than with the head, with the life and conduct rather than with the convictions of the intellect. It does not indeed teach us that theological opinions are of no consequence, but it makes them subordinate to the duties growing out of human relations and enforced by human necessities and wants. In the teachings of Christ how little do we find of prescribed formulæs of faith and doctrine—how much, on the other hand, to remind us of our obligations to labor for the good of humanity, and to rebuke us for our coldness and want of zeal in this important work. Plainly as the path of duty is marked in the precepts of Jesus, a still more resplendent light beams upon it from his example. How striking, how comprehensive is the testimony of one of the apostles of his religion: "He went about doing good." Under whatever circumstances he was placed, his mind and heart were absorbed in the grand idea of the redemption of mankind from every form of degradation and sin, and introducing them to a state of perfect happiness and peace.—How copiously gushed from his pure, warm heart the streams of affection and sympathy by which he sought to comfort the broken-hearted and the oppressed; how readily did he minister to the wants of the poor and the afflicted; and with what sternness and self-abnegation did he rebuke the wrong-doer, shielded by public opinion or clad in the mail of political or ecclesiastical authority! Consider well before you start; then persevere.

No dangers appalled, no terrors daunted him in bearing witness of the truth. He endured with heroic patience and calmness the scoffs and insults of those for whose well-being he so constantly labored, and in the very shadow of the cross, while the fires of human passion were burning around him with lurid glare, his serenity forbore him not, as with majestic tenderness he breathed the prayer, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." In these characteristics of his life we trace the lineaments of his religion and read the lesson of our own duties and obligations.

In forming an association for moral and religious purposes, our minds are haunted by no dreams of a heaven-ordained corporation, with ministers, elders, overseers and other officials, clothed with special divine authority and lifted above the people as their rulers and guides. With our whole hearts, and in the light derived from a long and bitter experience, we repudiate such arrangements, and proclaim the equality of all men, irrespective of sex, color or outward condition. We rely not upon elaborately framed rules of discipline, but upon the regulator which God has placed in the individual soul, upon the instinctive sense of right and wrong in the heart of man, and the operation of the law of kindness and forbearance, to preserve order in our assemblies. If these shall be found inadequate, we are certain that the remedy is not to be sought in any outward rules, however ingeniously constructed. We reject as absurd the idea that the religion of Christ is contrary to man's nature and needs to be forced upon him by external laws.—God is not at war with himself. He has not written one law in the hearts of his children, and another in the religion which he offers for their acceptance.

As a Yearly Meeting, we shall exercise no ecclesiastical authority over local bodies. We assume no other than advisory power. We shall, from time to time, declare our convictions on such subjects as may claim our attention, leaving other associations and individuals to judge for themselves how far those convictions entitle them to respect and adoption. We have seen the blighting and soul-crushing effects of the system by which large bodies make laws for smaller associations and hold them amenable to a central power—a power too often wielded by a few ambitious men who aspire to leadership and arbitrary sway in the Church.—We would avoid, so far as possible, the evils, which have resulted from this system, and therefore we propose to leave each local association to make such arrangements for the transaction of its business and the education of its members as to it may seem good. The different habits, associations and experiences of different communities will require corresponding variations in the means to be used for securing the advantages of religious society. The arrangements suited to one place may not be adapted to the special wants of another. We do not regard it as consistent with the freedom and self-respect of those whose local proximity and spiritual affinity for each other impels them to organize for the purpose of maintaining religious meetings, to submit to be governed by a foreign body. The responsibility of regulating their assemblies should rest upon themselves, and they cannot safely transfer it to other shoulders.

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Mary Howitt, (gentle Mary Howitt, as she is sometimes called,) has translated from a favorite Swedish author, the following beautiful hymn, sung by a mother to her children just before the parting "good night":

There sitte a dove so white and fair,
All on the lily spray,
And she listeneth how to Jesus Christ
The little children pray.

Lightly she spreads her friendly wings,

And to Heaven's gate hath sped,

And unto the Father in Heaven she bears

The prayers which the children have said.

And back she comes from Heaven's gate,

And brings—that dove so mild—

From the Father in Heaven who hears her speak,

A blessing on every child.

These little children lift up a pious prayer,

It hears whenever you say,

That heavenly dove so white and fair,

All on the lily spray.

A wit not easily silenced. M. Sadir, the Viennese humorist, demanded, on his trial, whether it was treasonable to repeat the Lord's Prayer, for the words, "deliver us from evil," might be construed into a prayer to get rid of the Government!

On presenting a petition for the protection of sole leather, a gentleman of the Illinois Legislature "busted" out as follows:

"When, Mr. Speaker, we consider the march of intellect in these United States, and see how the Genius of Liberty soars in her vast expanse, stretching her eagle plumes from the Pacific ocean to Mounting Point, gazing with eyes of fire on the ruins of Empires, the magnitude of the question on which we are now cobbling rises in the resplendent east, with a glorious reality, that proclaims that the artisans of Bullockburgh have a fresh sun rising over their tan vats." It is useless to say that the bill passed.

ORIGIN OF PETER-PENCE.—It was a tax which originated in England, of a penny upon every house, which contained twenty penworts of any kind of goods, and was paid to the Pope. It was anciently called Rome fee, Rome penny, Rome scot, Denarii S., petri, and Census Petri.

It was originated with the Saxons in the year 720, was discontinued by Edward III, revived by Richard II, and terminated on the Reformation. It was a collection from among the faithful, to pay the personal expenses of the Pope.

Consider well before you start; then persevere.

We have been impelled to enter upon this new organization in consequence of the moral delinquencies of existing sects. In our efforts to banish the evils of intemperance, to break the chains of the slave, to demolish the gallows, to abolish the horrid customs of war, to promote the equality of the sexes, to remove the giant evils of land monopoly and the aristocracy of wealth, and to restore to the laborer his rights, we have found those sects arrayed against us and seeking to throw the shield of religion over hoary crimes and social abuses which are at war alike with the laws of God and the rights of man. In such circumstances we had no alternative but to forego the advantages and reciprocities of religious associations, or to organize upon such a basis as our wants seemed to require. We have taken the course which seemed to us wisest and best, and we calmly submit our work to the test of time and experience.

We have taken the name of "PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS," a name suggested by the history of our movement.

While our organization is as broad as humanity, it is yet a fact that most of those who have taken part in its formation are Friends, and that name is endeared to them by many hallowed associations!

In retaining it we mean to proclaim to the world that, in casting aside the

husks of Quakerism, we yet retain an abiding attachment for its fundamental testimonies, and that our intention is to maintain them by all proper and righteous means.

We have adopted the term "Progressive," to avoid being confounded with other societies, and as an appropriate recognition of the fact that the law of progress is applicable alike to individuals and associations.

March 5, 1852.

Agents for the Bugle.

The following named persons are requested and authorized to act as agents for the Bugle in their respective localities.

Chas. Douglass, Berea, Cuyahoga county, Ohio.

Timothy Woodworth, Litchfield, Medina Co., O.

Wm. Payne, Richfield, Summit Co., O.

Jesse Scott, Summerton, Belmont Co.

Z. Baker, Akron, Summit Co.

H. D. Smalley, Randolph, Portage Co.

Mrs. C. M. Lathan, Troy, Geauga Co., O.

J. Southam, Brunswick.

O. O. Brown, Bainbridge.

L. S. Spees, Granger.

J. B. Lambert, Bath,

Ivan Brooks, Linesville,

J. T. Hirst, Mercer,

Finley McGraw, Fairmount, Indiana.

Harriet Pulsipher, Bissell, Geauga Co., O.

O. O. Brown, Orange, Cuyahoga Co., O.

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March 5, 1852.

LUTHER AND HIS ADHERENTS

The Proprietors of Sartain's Magazine having purchased the large and handsome steel plate, carefully engraved in line, mezzotint, from the celebrated design George Catlin, representing

WEIGHTY is the master and bungy the slave.

It will enable many a family heart-string to glow more brightly.—*Telegraph*.

No one can peruse this work without being wiser and better.—*Albion*.

ANGELL, ENGLE & HEWITT,

1 Congress, N. Y.

J. HUDSON,

THE B

Letter from New York

TERMS.—\$1.50 per annum if paid in advance.

\$1.75 per annum if paid monthly.

\$2.00 per annum, if paid beyond six months.